2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually did not gamble.

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were,

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play.

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

525 [562] [574] [885] 525 857 [14] [p. 139]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The next song contains the same idea of the "ruling power in the heavens." 533*

No. 62. "O Expanse of the Heavens"

(Catalogue No. 1129)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 104
Drum not recorded

Iri	hawa	wĭ	tas	ta	kitawi	ras
There	almost always	are	you	have	powers (or leaders)	you
ta	kāwaha	ki	wē	tas	ta	kĭtawi
have	heavens	expand	are	you	have	powers

FREE TRANSLATION

I believe that in you, O heavens, dwell the ruling powers.

Analysis.—This song is major in tonality and contains one accidental, the fourth raised a semitone. The rhythm presents an unusual monotony as the only count-divisions, except in the final measures, are dotted quarter notes followed by eighth notes. The song has a compass of an octave and progresses by a variety of intervals.

The song next following was used as an old war dance. 885

It was the custom of the young men, in former times, to make known that they had arrived at an age of realization and had "put their trust in the heavens." James R. Murie said that he, as a young man, went around the village singing this song with other young men, so that all the people might hear and know they had assumed the attitude of men toward life. It is an Iruska but not a dancing song and belonged to Man Chief. 533* [424]

Analysis.—With a range of 10 tones this song contains the tone material of the second 5-toned scale. As in several other songs with large compass, it begins on the highest tone of its compass and ends on the lowest. The song consists of four periods, the third differing slightly from the others in rhythm, a form which occurs frequently in the simpler songs of the Indians. 533*

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children, if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine-man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar, while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin, he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

3.	*arisit kustiwu*	Of my own accord I will go (to you)
4.	*wirakukuwatu*	when I am lonesome.
5.	*hiru hira hai ira'*	(Sung syllables)

A woman sings:

1.	*ha ku ahaku* (repeat 3 times)	See! There he is sitting,
2.	*tisirstuutsra* (ha i)	this is the one I did it with.

Another woman's song:

1.	*taku hiru kuu iia'*	Someone here I wish he were coming.
2.	*titaku hewa hiru kuu iia*	Right here again here I wish he were coming.

And finally, the nostalgia of a man:

1.	*atsiksu tatuuta*	My thoughts are
2.	*tihi rarux kusaaru*	upon the other bed.

Friendships among women were much more limited than among men, as there was little opportunity to form them. Women were closely confined to the home base from an early age and spent a great deal of their life there. While the boys were quite small, boys and girls played in groups in the village but when the boy was ten or twelve he began to go to pasture with the horses and thus separated himself from the girls who were more closely attached to their mothers at this time and were taking the first steps toward learning the techniques of planting and the household routines. Just before sundown, from each of the villages, people would be walking down different paths to the water about a mile away. This was an opportunity for meeting. Little girls when going for water would stop each other and talk. The first overtures in courtship were often made here. Once the girl was married at about fifteen, she no longer had time for her girl friends. The mature woman was so preoccupied with all the work she had to do that she had no time at all for such activities. Women addicted to gambling formed a group apart in a sense, but their association was not so much in the nature of friendship as a common "affliction." Old ladies were a little more free to develop "cronies." John B. Dunbar (1881, p. 740), missionary to the Tsawi Band 1835–1836 and 1846–1847, describes the Pawnee woman at work in the following words:

> They were given to assembling in little groups: while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom and was to all appearances inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting